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EDUCATIO

EDITORIAL NOTE: We regret that we have been obliged to defer until the present the publication of the following communications, transmitted between February and April 1959, from Dr. Charles A. Tonsor, veteran New York City classicist and former principal of Grover Cleveland High School, now residing in Kew Gardens, L.I., and Dr. Goodwin B. Beach of Trinity College, Hartford, Conn., distinguished scriba of the Societas Latine Loquentium. However, the virtual timelessness of philological disputation once committed to its proper vehicle — Latin—as well as the intrinsic interest of the subject lead us to hope that a wide circle of readers will find instruction — and challenge — herein.

The background briefly: In his paper, "Latin as a Living Language," read at the Fifty-first Annual Meeting of CAAS, Gettysburg College, April 25-26, 1958, and published in CW 52 (1958-59) 138-144, Dr. Beach had stated (p. 140): "... In as much as the word 'education' comes from the same root as our word 'eat' (by the way, it has nothing to do with educere), it means 'nourish.'" On February 16, 1959, Dr. Tonsor, first of our readers to rise to the somewhat challenging doctrine — challenging at least to conventional etymological notions — advanc-

ed by Dr. Beach, communicated his views to us as given below under (I). Dr. Beach's rejoinder appears as (II), Dr. Tonsor's reply thereto as (III). It will be noted that both contributors reject the derivation from *educo*, *-ere*,

1

Dr. Tonsor had written:

"... I don't know what linguistics and semantics have done to Latin, but during my years of acquaintance with the language, I have learned as follows:

"Among the Greeks paidagôgos was the term applied first to the slave who "conducted" or "guided" the boy to school. Then it was applied to the person who guided him thru the arts he had to learn, the teacher. The art became paidagôgia.

"When the Romans brought Greek teachers to Rome, the teachers were stumped. There was no word in the Roman language to correspond to the two above. There was a word edux, which meant 'guide.' From that noun they formed the denominative verb educo, educare, 'to act as guide.' From educatus they made readily educator for 'the one who [guides]' and educatio for the process"

Noting modifications in the meaning of Roman words such as *ludus* into the sense of 'school' and *magister* into that of 'schoolmaster,' Dr. Tonsor concludes:

"That the dictionary is wrong in deriving it ['education'] from educo, -ere, we can all agree, since the words would have to be "eduction" and "eductor."

"When Prof. Brewer wrote his book, Education As Guidance, 1 if he did not have the Latin meaning in mind, he made a lucky selection."

11

Dr. Tonsor's letter, referred to Dr. Beach, elicited the following rejoinder:

"Bonamicus Actensis . . . Editori s. p. d.

"Epistula illius Tonsoris allata atque curiose perlecta. His in rebus si controversia excitari potest, tanto melius, Controversias non detrecto. Quantumvis sit ille lector perspicax, neque hoc nego, hac in re non dubito quin erraverit. 'Educare' nunquam, quantum scio, vel discere possum, significavit 'ducem agere.'

"Primum Varro scripsit: educit obstetrix, educat nutrix, instituit paedagogus, docet magister.2 Certe educit obstetrix et non nunquam maiore cum difficultate! Nutrix igitur alit, nutrit, educat.

"Tum Nonius, qui quidem aliquod 'educere' inducit: alere et educare hoc distant: alere est victu temporali sustentare; educare autem ad satietatem perpetuam educere.³ Hoc quidem recte, nam diversitate ea internoscit. Plautus Menaechmis (98): nam illic homo homines non alit verum educat. Accius Andromeda (frg. 114 Ribbeck): alui educavi: id facito gratum ut sit seni. Horatius, C. 4.4.25, scribit: indoles nutrita faustis sub penetralibus.

"Puto apte dictum: educatum ad satietatem perpetuam educi! Certe mens educata ita est alita.

"Tum, haec rei summa est: olim me audiente Josue Quidamplius (Whatmough) edixit: 'educare' cum 'educendo' cognatum non est. Mente enim infantis vacua, nihil inde educi potest. Aliquid autem ingerendum est, ea igitur alenda, pascenda, educanda est. 'Educare' igitur cum radice 'edendi' coniunctum, quae eadem est ac nostri 'eat.'

"Nostro Clyde Murley hanc derivationem olim in dubium devocanti respondi non mecum sed cum illo Josue esse disputandum. Is subinde rescripsit se iam esse contentum, cum illo Quidamplio sanguinario contendere nolle.

"Egometipse ab eodem sto, quo, meapte sententia, nemo etymologus scitior est.

"Denique tandem puer semper demirabar qui 'educare' ab 'educendo' duci posset. Etiam tum puero 'etymologastro' bonae rationi repugnare videbantur. Quidamplio audito, gavisus sum. Ergo si quis modo pontificali enuntiat: Of course, you know 'education' comes from 'eedoosere,' respondeo: That is just what I know: NOT"...

"a. d. Nonas Martias MCMLVIIII."

III

Dr. Tonsor's reply, sent to us April 4, 1959, follows:

"Confutationem rei in epistula mea scriptae

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STAFF

Editor: Edward A. Robinson, Fordham University, New York 58, N.Y.

Managing Editor: Irving Kizner, Hunter College High School, New York 21, N.Y.

Advertising Manager: Marian F. Astuti, Hunter College High School, New York 21, N. Y.; Assistant Advertising Manager: James T. McDonough, 430 W. 118th St., New York 27, N.Y.

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^{1.} John M. Brewer, Education As Guidance (New York: Macmillan, 1932).

^{2.} Ap. Nonius 447, 34 = G. Funaioli, Gramm. Rem. Frag. I (Leipzig 1907) p. 226, frg. 104.

^{3.} Nonius, loc. cit.; see further J. W. Mackail, "On the Word 'Educare," CR 35 (1921) 26f.

magna cum cura perlegi. Ita ut ille praeclarus poeta Anglicus scripsit,

Homo contra voluntatem convictus In eadem sententia permanet,⁴

item ego in sententia priore permaneo.

"De una re, nulla controversia existere potest: 'educatio' non a vocabulo 'educere' orta est, propter quod tum 'eductionem' esse vocabulum necesse est. Consentio: nihil a nihilo educi potest.

"Sed 'educare' est alia res. Sane nutrix infantem alit et puerum educat sed non puerum êst! Si vocabulum 'educo' non ab 'educe' ortum est, quomodo accidit ut lexicon habeat: ducatus: 'leadership,' 'guidance'? Recte, magister puerum docet sed vero ducit ab docendo; docet ut ducat per exiguum curriculum vitae. Non docet ut eum edat. (Forsitan non edat nisi doceat.)

"Etiam: educatio, 'a bringing up' (paidagô-gia); educator, 'foster-father,' 'tutor' (paidagô-gos); educatrix, 'foster-mother'; educo, (a) 'to bring up,' 'to rear'; (b) 'to educate.' Sane nutrix puerum ducit; puer parvus solus ambulare non potest. Nutrix igitur se ducem gerit.

"Vocabulum Latinum, ita ut Graecum et Anglicum, multis in modis adhiberi potest. Sed 'educatio' in linguam Anglicam venit quod significavit quod faciendum sit per docendum, non per edendum — tametsi forsitan ut magister iratus discipulum malum edere vellet.

"P.S. Nota bene: tonsor capillos non scindit; eos tondet."

ANNOUNCEMENT OF C.A.A.S. ROME SCHOLARSHIP FOR 1960

A grant of \$400.00 is available for a secondary-school teacher who has been a member of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States for at least three years, who is at present a member of that Association, and who most nearly fulfills the other qualifications laid down by the Association, for summer study at the American Academy in Rome in the summer of 1960. Holders of regional classical association scholarships also have the tuition fee of \$100 remitted.

As authorized by action taken at the business

session of the Forty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Association, held in Philadelphia, Pa., April 18, 1953 (see CW 47 [1953-54] 5, col. 2), the following extracts from the Report of the Committee on the C.A.A.S. Rome Scholarship, submitted by Professor Franklin B. Krauss, Chairman, and published in full in CW 46 (1952-53) 25-26, are here reprinted:

THE C.A.A.S. ROME SCHOLARSHIP

I. Purpose

The twofold purpose of the Scholarship is to encourage teachers in the secondary schools to recognize how greatly they can improve the content and scope of their teaching by pursuing the program of studies in the summer session of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome; and to provide the recipient of the Scholarship with financial assistance to attend the summer session in the year in which the award is made.

II. Qualifications Governing Candidacy

The Scholarship is offered solely on a competitive basis to members of the Classical Association of the Atlantic States, and will be awarded to that candidate who most closely qualifies in accordance with the following stipulations:

- (1) those who have held active membership in the Association for no fewer than 2 full and consecutive years prior to the year in which they are competitors for the Scholarship.
- (2) those who, both at the time of application for the Scholarship and throughout the two-year period stipulated above, are and have been actively engaged in teaching Latin or Greek in the secondary schools, either public or private, within the geographical boundaries of the Association (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and the District of Columbia);
- (3) those whose undergraduate academic preparation included either a major or a minor in Latin or Greek; and whose instructional program, both at the time of application for the Scholarship and throughout the two

In February -

H. J. Leon, "A Quarter Century of Catullan Scholarship (1934-1959)," (concluded).

(26th in the CW Survey Series)

M. R. P. McGuire, "Letters and Letter-Carriers in Christian Antiquity"

H. C. Schnur, "The Factotum: Some Varieties of the Latin Hexameter."

In March -

"Departments of Education on the Classics"

In April -

L. A. Campbell, "Textbooks in Latin and Greek: 1960 List."

In each issue: Reviews, Notes and News, "In the Journals," "Classics Makes the News," "In the Entertainment World," Books Received.

Is of his own opinion still. . . .

Cf. Hudibras, pt. iii, canto iii, l. 547f.: He that complies against his will,

⁽on the common variant "A man convinced against his will, etc., " see, Stevenson, s.v. "opinion."

year period stipulated above, is and has been predominantly in bona fide courses in Latin or Greek;

(4) those who have every intention of devoting their future teaching primarily to instruction in bona fide courses in Latin or Greek.

III. Organization and Membership of the C.A.A.S. Rome Scholarship Committee

The Rome Scholarship Committee of the C.A.A.S. shall consist of the President of the C.A.A.S., as Chairman; of the Ex-Officio Member of the Executive Committee; and of a third member from the Executive Committee, which member shall be appointed by the Chair-

Applications for this Scholarship must be in by February 15, 1960. Inquiries should be addressed to the President of the Association. Professor Eugene W. Miller, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

A QUARTER CENTURY OF CATULLAN SCHOLARSHIP (1934-1959)1

I. Bibliographical Materials

R. G. C. Levens in his spirited survey of Catullan scholarship in M. Platnauer's Fifty Years of Classical Scholarship (Oxford 1954) 284-305, remarked that no important advances in the study of Catullus had been made in the last half century. True as this observation appears to be, there has certainly been no paucity of scholarly literature on Catullus. The annual lists of books and articles dealing with Catullus in Marouzeau's L'Année Philologique, while less extensive than those on Virgil, Horace, or Ovid, yet show a continuing interest, particularly on the part of Italian scholars, in Rome's great lyric poet.

In the present survey I am arbitrarily confining myself to the twenty-five years since 1934. Besides L'Année Philologique and the Levens article, good bibliographical material is offered by D. Braga in Doxa 3 (1950) 161-190. His list, covering 1938-1948, though far from complete, is useful for its brief analyses and criticisms. Substantial bibliographical data on Catullus may be found in E. Bignone's Storia della letteratura latina, II (Florence 1945) 463-467, and in M. Schuster's fundamental article on Valerius Catullus in RE VII A (1948) 2253-2406. The Teubner edition by Schuster (1949, 1954), supplemented by Eisenhut's recent revision (1958), offers many bibliographical items, especially on details of reading and interpretation. Eisenhut's translation (Munich 1956)

1. I am grateful to my colleague, Professor Philip

Levine, for several most helpful suggestions.

229-233, has a substantial bibliography, especially of works from 1949 to 1956.

In this survey I shall omit the numerous school editions and editions of selections, except for a few which may have some value for the scholar. There will also be scant mention of the many popular books and articles which contribute little or nothing to the understanding of our poet. The abbreviations for the names of periodicals are those used in Marouzeau.

II. Editions and Translations

An important new text during our period is the Teubner edition of M. Schuster (1949). Relying almost wholly on manuscripts G and O, Schuster presents a conservative and generally reliable text. Among the numerous reviews of this work, I wish to call attention particularly to those of L. Wallach in Phoenix 7 (1953) 89-91, P. Levine in AJPh 73 (1952) 96-99, A. Ernout in RPh 76 (1950) 222-223, and the comments by Levens in Platnauer's Fifty Years. 297-298. Schuster's edition is especially useful for the biographical material presented in the apparatus and the citations of literary parallels and quotations in other Latin authors. Valuable also are his indices on meters and on grammatical and linguistic usages, and his Index Nominum offers helpful information about the individual items. Much of the criticism of this edition was directed against certain unhappy readings in c. 66 (see below under that poem). To meet these criticisms a second edition appeared in 1954, differing from the earlier one in that the text of c. 66 was revised in the light of Pfeiffer's edition of Callimachus (Vol. I, Oxford 1949) with the new fragments of that poet's Coma Berenices. A revision by W. Eisenhut, which came out in 1958, assembles the not inconsiderable changes in addenda to the bibliography and a supplement of "Addenda et corrigenda", offering changes in readings and references to the recent scholarly literature.

The most recent edition is the new Oxford Classical Text by R.A.B. Mynors (1958), replacing the half-century-old text by Ellis. This is a dependable edition, offering a conservative text which relies almost entirely on O, G, and R. Designating the lost archetype of G and R as X, he employs O and X to determine the readings of the Veronensis. One useful feature is a chronological classification of the corrections in the manuscripts prior to the first printed edition. The Mynors edition is equipped with a very concise apparatus criticus and citations of testimonia, but apart from a bare Index Nominum has none of the useful additional information which gives special value to the edition of Schuster.2

Another very practical edition is that of E. Cazzaniga in the Paravia series (Turin 1941, ed. 2, 1945, with minor revisions by L. Castiglioni). Besides a conservative text, it offers a fairly extensive apparatus and a very full treatment of metrics, prosody, and language, with what appear to be complete lists of examples of hiatus, synizesis, syncope, hypermetra, variations in vowel quantities, Greek words, and orthographical peculiarities, followed by an Appendix with an exceedingly detailed analysis of elisions.

An amazing phenomenon of Procrusteanism is the edition of L. Herrmann, Les deux livres de Catulle (Brussels 1957). Starting with the confident assumption that Catullus' work was published, during the poet's lifetime, in two books, offering a total of one hundred poems, arranged eighteen lines to a page, Herrmann forces the extant poems into this scheme by combining separate poems, rearranging the order, transposing lines, throwing out lines, and assuming lacunae. In order to make the whole thing come out, page by page, he even dreams up a lost poem of 72 verses dealing with magie érotique and indicates the exact pages on which it came. The edition is provided with an Introduction, apparatus criticus, Index of Names, and a French translation.3

No significant full commentary has appeared during the period under review. E. T. Merrill's 1893 edition was reprinted in 1951 by the Harvard University Press with a brief Foreword by J. P. Elder. Though it is unrevised, and though Catullan studies have made notable progress since it appeared sixty-six years ago, it is still the most serviceable edition with English commentary and may be used satisfactorily by an instructor who will bring the materials up

Perhaps the best all-round edition is still that of W. Kroll, which came out in 1923.4 There

2. G. P. Goold, "A New Text of Catullus," Phoenix 12 (1958) 93-116, presents a penetrating review of the Mynors edition. Although criticizing numerous points of detail, Goold hails Mynors' text as superior to all its predecessors. While Mynors has removed from his text many of the alleged instances of hiatus, Goold insists (p. 110) that there is no certain instance of hiatus in the text of Catullus and points out how all the supposed examples can be eliminated.

3. Herrmann explains and defends his arrangements and readings in "Observations sur le texte de Catulle," Latomus 16 (1957) 672-683. He has applied his 18-line theory to most of the other Latin poets, including Lucretius, Virgil's Eclogues, Tibullus, Horace's Epodes and Ars Poetica, Phaedrus, Ovid, and Juvenal. This theory is vigorously refuted by N. I. Herescu, "L'édition antique des poètes latins et la prétendue 'règle des 18 vers à la page'," REL 36 (1958) 132-158. Herrmann's devotion to the theory is deplored by H. Bardon, REL 36 (1958) 359.

4. The second edition (Leipzig 1929) is a reprint of the first with sundry corrections in the Nachträge, A new reprint with supplementary material by H. Herter and J. Kroymann has just been issued by Teubner (1959).

EARLIER CW SURVEY ARTICLES

- E. H. Haight, "Notes on Recent Publications about the Ancient Novel," CW 46 (1952-53) 233-237.
- G. M. Kirkwood, "A Survey of Recent Publications Concerning Classical Greek Lyric Poetry, CW 47 (1953-54) 33-42, 49-54.
- W. Allen, Jr., "A Survey of Selected Ciceronian Bibliography, 1939-1953," CW 47 (1953-54) 129-139.
- P. MacKendrick, "Herodotus: The Making of a World Historian," CW 47 (1953-54) 145-152.
- E. L. Minar, Jr., "A Survey of Recent Work in Pre-Socratic Philosophy," CW 47 (1953-54) 161-170, 177-182.
- A. K. Michels, "Early Roman Religion, 1945-1952" CW 48 (1954-55) 25-35, 41-45.
- G. F. Else, "A Survey of Work on Aristotle's Poetics, 1940-1954," CW 48 (1954-55) 73-82.
- C. W. Mendell, "Tacitus: Literature 1948-1953," CW 48 (1954-55) 121-125.
- A. G. McKay, "A Survey of Recent Work on Aeschylus," CW 48 (1954-55) 145-150, 153-159.
- P. De Lacy, "Some Recent Publications on Epicurus and Epicureanism," CW 48 (1954-55) 169-177.
- F. M. Combellack, "Contemporary Homeric Scholarship: Sound or Fury?", CW 49 (1955-56) 17-26, 29-44, 45-55.
- H. W. Miller, "A Survey of Recent Euripidean Scholarship, 1940-1954," CW 49 (1955-56) 81-92.
- C. T. Murphy, "A Survey of Recent Work on Aristophanes and Old Comedy," CW 49 (1955-56) 201-211.
- W. S. Anderson, "Recent Work in Roman Satire (1937-55)," CW 50 (1956-57) 33-40.
- F. M. Wassermann, "Thucydidean Scholarship, 1942-1956," CW 50 (1956-57) 65-70, 89-101.
- H. C. Schnur, "Recent Petronian Scholarship," CW 50 (1956-57) 133-136, 141-143.
 G. M. Kirkwood, "A Review of Recent Sophoclean Studies (1945-1956)," CW 50 (1956-1971-1971-1971)
- 57) 157-172. T. G. Rosenmeyer, "Platonic Scholarship. 1945-1955," CW 50 (1956-57) 173-182, 185-196, 197-201, 209-211.
- S. E. Smethurst, "Cicero's Rhetorical and
- Philosophical Works: A Bibliographical Survey,"
 CW 51 (1957-58) 1-4, 24, 32-41.
 H. S. Long, "A Bibliographical Survey of Recent Work on Aristotle (1945-)," CW 51 (1957-58) 47-51, 57-60, 69-76, 96-98, 117-119,
- G. E. Duckworth, "Recent Work on Vergil (1940-1956)," CW 51 (1957-58) 89-92, 116f.,
- 123-128, 151-159, 185-193, 228-235. P. De Lacy, "Some Recent Publications on Hellenistic Philosophy (1937-1957)," CW 52 (1958-
- lemster Finlosophy (1957-1957), CW 52 (1958-59) 8-15, 25-27, 37-39, 57.

 C. S. Rayment, "A Current Survey of Ancient Rhetoric," CW 52 (1958-59) 75-91, 276 n.

 R. J. Getty, "Recent Work on Horace (1945-1957)," CW 52 (1958-59) 167-188, 246f.
- K. Gries, "Livian Scholarship since 1940, CW 53 (1959-60), 33-40, 69-80.

is also a recent reprint (Turin 1953) of the Italian edition by M. Lenchantin de Gubernatis, which first appeared in 1928 and has been reissued several times with only minor changes. Its most valuable feature is a rich commentary with a large amount of useful information, although one is bound to disagree with many a detail of interpretation. A text, with translation and commentary, by E. d'Arbela (Milan 1947), though probably of use to Italian students, has little to offer for scholars.

It is not inappropriate to include here the excellent Budé text with French translation by G. Lafaye, since a third edition "revue et corrigée" by M. Duchemin was put out in 1949, but it seems little changed from the original edition of 1922.

For anyone who can understand Catullus in the original all translations are bound to be sadly inadequate. That is emphatically true of the recent English translations. Jack Lindsay. Catullus, the Complete Poems (London 1948) offers new versions with many changes from his edition of 1929. While some of the poems are effectively handled, it seems to me that many a passage must be virtually unintelligible to a reader without knowledge of the original. Still, Levens (in Platnauer's Fifty Years, 288) finds him, at least for some readers, "nearer to Catullus" than his predecessors, Lindsay arranges the poems by chronology and subject rather than according to the manuscript order. For the general reader the book offers a useful Foreword on the life of Catullus, skimpy comments to connect the poems, and brief explanatory notes. The author is too prone to discover reflections of Catullus' own experience in the passages on Atalanta (c. 2a), the castrated Attis (c. 63), the girl with the apple (c. 65). Berenice (c. 66). Laodamia and Juno (c. 68). The translation by Horace Gregory (London 1956) is an unrevised reissue, with a new Introduction, of a version which first appeared in 1931. Because of its poetic quality, this version would appeal to me as superior to the other attempts in English, but that the meaning of the original is frequently distorted or missed altogether, nor are there any notes to guide the reader.

F. O. Copley's Gaius Valerius Catullus. The Complete Poetry (Ann Arbor 1957) is an attempt to render Catullus in a modern idiom. His chief success is with the longer poems, notably c. 63. The shorter poems of a colloquial nature are rendered in a slangy vernicular which goes far beyond the graceful conversational

style of our poet, with occasional expressions which one not conversant with that brand of slang may find quite puzzling. A. Dalzell, reviewing this work in *Phoenix* 12 (1958) 193-195, objects to having Catullus made to employ "the language of a slum tenement" and echoes from the "Hit Parade." The notes at the end of the book are appropriate and helpful.

Perhaps the best way to present Catullus for non-Latin readers is that of W. A. Aiken, The Poems of Catullus Translated into English by Various Hands (New York 1950). The versions range in time from the early seventeenth century to the present, a number being by Aiken himself. Sometimes the editor offers more than one translation of a poem. Uneven as these versions are, some are perhaps as good as one can reasonably hope to get in the rendering of a great lyric poet into another language.

Not feeling competent to evaluate the merits of translations in languages other than English, I shall mention only those which have attracted favorable attention. A noteworthy Italian translation is that of E. d'Arbela, which accompanies his critical text and commentary, referred to above. It is highly praised by Préaux, Latomus 7 (1948) 260, and by Braga, Doxa 3 (1950) 166. Other Italian translations are those of G. Bonazzi (Rome 1936). a metrical version with Latin text and textual notes; G. Mazzoni (Bologna 1939), with Latin text, a translation which Braga (loc. cit.) regards as the best in Italian: V. Errante (2 vols., Milan 1945), with the text and a frothy, highly rhetorical commentary to accompany the transla-tion, which does not comprise all the poems; V. Ciaffi, Catullo e i "poeti nuovi" (Turin 1951), a prose version with a substantial introduction and notes, and including translations of the fragments of Laevius, Lutatius Catulus, and other poetae novi, plus the Virgilian Appendix.

German translations are those of V. Schoene (ed. 2, Munich 1940), with the Latin text; C. Fischer (Söcking 1948), 65 poems with the text and a version in the original meters; W. Eisenhut (Munich 1956), a poetic version with the text, substantial notes, and an appendix offering useful data on the life, language, and meters of the poet and a bibliography. There is a translation in Swedish by J. A. Bruun (Stockholm 1941), in Czech by O. Smrcka (Prague 1940), in Croatian by N. Sop (Zagreb 1950), and in Spanish, with Latin text, by J. Petit (Madrid 1950).

III. Manuscript Studies

During the past twenty-five years no important new work on the MSS of Catullus has appeared. As Levens has pointed out, what is needed is a new, independent judgment based on a first-hand study of the codices. The two most important of the recent editions, those of Schuster and Mynors, depend almost exclusively on the two chief witnesses to the lost Veronensis, i.e. the Oxoniensis (0) and the Sangerman-

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ensis (G), with some use of the Romanus (R). Most likely, even a new study of the MSS will succeed only in demonstrating that this is the wise policy for the editor of Catullus.

Two of the lesser MSS, which may on occasion offer some help in establishing the readings of V, have been published in the past few years, each with a complete transcript. The Bologna MS, written at Venice in 1412 and collated by Ellis, has been competently edited by G. B. Pighi, Catulli Codex Bononiensis 2621 (Bologna 1950). It is useful as the oldest of the corrected codices. Excellent also is the edition by V. Cremona, a pupil of Pighi, of the fifteenth-century Brescian MS, Catulli codex Brixianus A VII 7 (Bologna 1954). A special study of the Pisaurensis of the year 1570, now in the Bibliotheca Oliveriana of Pesaro, No. 1167, is M. Zicari, "Il codice Pesarese di Catullo e i suoi affini", SOliv I (Pesaro 1953).5

IV. General Works on Catullus

The most important study on Catullus during this quarter century is that of M. Schuster in *RE* VII A (1948) 2353-2406, which covers our poet from *Leben* through *Nachleben*. Useful also are the sections on Catullus in the larger histories of Latin literature, notably those by E. Bignone, *Storia della letteratura latina* II (Florence 1945) 343-426, and A. Rostagni, *Storia della letterature latina* I (ed. 2, Turin 1954) 333-355 (on the *poetae novi*) and 356-387.

Among books on the life and writings of Catullus the following are worth noting: A. L. Wheeler, Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry (Berkeley 1934), a scholarly book, especially valuable for its Chapter 1, "The History of the Poems"; F. A. Wright, Three Roman Poets, Plautus, Catullus, Ovid. Their Lives, Times, and Works (New York 1938), a work too inclined to state conjectures as facts; E. A. Havelock, The Lyric Genius of Catullus (Oxford 1939), with excellent appreciations of the poet's style; N. I. Herescu, Catullo (Rome 1943), a survey of Catullus, his works, and his times;6 C. Bione, Catullo poeta (Palermo 1946); V. Sireço, Catullo poeta della giovinezza (Arona 1947), an inept attempt to interpret the poems as for the most part reflecting not genuine experiences on the part of Catullus, but imaginary flights of fancy; T.L. Ferrero, Interpretazione di Catullo (Turin 1955) and Un'introduzione a Catullo (Turin 1955), both works rich in penetrating, though sometimes wearisome, interpretations and analyses of the poet's art and the meaning of individual poems, although the author seems too intent on finding a unifying element in Catullus' poetry and too prone to espy reflections of the poet's personal experiences and emotions in his treatment of Ariadne, Attis, and even Berenice.

An attractive general survey of the poems, particularly those of the Lesbia cycle, and of the place of Catullus in literature is L. Catin, "Le roman de Catulle," BAGB, Lettres d'Humanité 11 (1952) 22-54.

F. Klingner, Römische Geisteswelt (ed. 3, 1956) 200-220, discusses broadly the art of Catullus, considering especially his original treatment of Hellenistic motifs, notably that of love.

V. Chronology of the Life and Writings of Catullus

The dates 87-54 or 84 (83)-54 for the birth and death of Catullus are still generally accepted by scholars.8 There are, however, a few dissidents.9 P. Gilbert and M. Renard, "Les dates de naissance et de mort de Catulle," AC 11 (1942) 93-96, have reverted to Lachmann's old dating of 77-47. They depend chiefly on the apparent reference to Vatinius' consulship in c. 52, a theory long since proved untenable by Schwabe. The two Belgian scholars repeat this dating in their Catulle poésies (Brussels, ca. 1943) 11. E. V. Marmorale, L'ultimo Catullo (ed. 2, Naples 1957) 22, n., and 190, adopts B. Schmidt's dating (RhM 69 (1914) 268) of 82-52 on the ground that Jerome in his Chronicle confused the consulship of the younger Marius in 82 with that of the elder Marius in 86 and that of Q. Metellus Pius in 52 with that of Q. Metellus Nepos in 57. Since, however, Metellus Pius did not become consul until late in 52, so that his name did not appear in the designation of that year, it is highly improbable that such a confusion could have occurred. Another who accepts Schmidt's dating is R. Herzog, Hermes 71 (1936) 350. He assigns the reconciliation with Caesar to 53-52, with the death

^{5.} I have not seen Zicàri, "Il Cavrianeus antaldino e i codici catulliani affini al Bononiensis 2621," SOliv. 4 (1956), which shows the relationship of a MS at Göttingen, collated by Antaldi in 1800, to the Bononiensis. Zicàri is preparing a new study of the recentiores; see "Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta di Catullo," Boll. del Comitato per la Preparazione della Ediz. Naz. dei Classici Greci e Latini, N.S. 6 (1958) 79-99.

^{6.} There is a Portuguese version under the title Catullo o primero romantico (Coimbra 1948).

^{7.} Most reviewers express outrage at Sirago's work. One encounters such characterizations as Renard's "detestable" and "masochistic" and Avallone's "una vera offesa a Catullo."

^{8.} Among these are Schuster in RE (he prefers 87-54); R.J.M. Lindsay, "The Chronology of Catullus' Life," CPh 43 (1948) 42-44; E. Bignone, Storia lett. lat. II 344f.

^{9.} For a discussion of the various theories see F. della Corte, Due studi catulliani (Genoa 1951) 105-110. Cf. also Marmorale, L'ultimo Catullo 21, n.1.

of Catullus coming soon after. L. Herrmann, Latomus 15 (1956) 480, insists that Catullus died soon after Lucretius and that the deaths of both occurred in 47.

W. Allen, "The Political Career of Catullus," CO 24 (1946-47) 65-66, believes that Catullus' chief purpose in going to Rome was to prepare for a legal-political career, that he joined Memmius, an opponent of Caesar, and became a member of his staff in Bithynia as the first step in such a career, and that his chance of political advancement ended when his patrons failed him. The main thesis of Marmorale's L'ultimo Catullo, as we shall see below, is that Catullus was initiated into the Bacchic rites at the end of 54 (he makes him live at least till 52) and that this religious conversion profoundly influenced the poetry of his last years,

A sharp departure from the standard view is that of P. Maas, "The Chronology of the Poems of Catullus," 36 (1942) 79-82. Going farther than Rothstein, Philologus 78 (1922) 1ff., who had insisted that none of the shorter poems was composed before 57. Maas holds that all the extant poems were written after 57, the earliest being c. 46, which heralds the departure from Bithynia in the spring of 56. He is, accordingly, forced to assume that the poet's brother died after 57 (he favors 54) and that Catullus made a second trip to the East in order to visit the tomb.10

VI. The Circle of Catullus

The known data about all the individuals mentioned in the poems of Catullus are fully presented in an excellent treatise by C. L. Neudling. A Prosopography to Catullus (Oxford 1955). Although on the whole Neudling is cautious with his identifications, he is occasionally too positive, as, for example, in identifying the unnamed rival of c. 73 as "undoubtedly M. Caelius Rufus," whom he also regards as the Caelius of cc. 58 and 100.

The greater portion of F. della Corte, Due studi catulliani (pp. 105-246) is entitled "Personaggi catulliani" and discusses, among others, Cominius, Hortalus, Gellius, Manlius Torquatus, Caecilius, Juventius and his lovers, Memmius, Cinna, Cornificius, Arrius, Caesar and Mamurra, and Lesbia. His identifications will in some instances hardly inspire confidence. To cite two examples: he regards the poet Caecilius of c. 35 as identical with the owner of the house in c. 67 and concludes that both poems belong to the year 59 or soon thereafter (147f.): he suggests that the Gallus of c. 78 is a Cornificius Gallus, uncle of the poet Cornificius to whom c. 38 is addressed (178f.).

R. Syme, "Piso and Veranius in Catullus," C&M 17

10. I have not seen J. Suolahti, "The Origin of the Poet Catullus," in Commentationes in honorem Edw. Linkomies (Helsinki 1954) 159-171. The author holds that the poet probably came from an old patrician family which had settled in the area of Verona.

(1956) 129-134, argues in favor of those who identify the Piso of cc. 28 and 47 with L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, proconsul of Macedonia in 57-55. He leaves open the question whether Veranius and Fabullus sojourned in Spain while members of a governor's staff or during a private trip. E. Castorina, Licinio Calvo (Catania 1946), has assembled all that can be known or inferred about Catullus' dear friend and offers an appendix on his relation to Catullus. Marmorale, Ult. Cat. 213-217, makes Calvus a convert to the cult of Isis after his wife's death, accepting Castorina's view11 that in his poem Io, Io=Isis.

There are sundry other attempts to identify the various persons mentioned in the poems, none being a significant contribution. Some will be mentioned below in the material on the separate poems, 12

The identity of Lesbia with Clodia, the wife of Metellus, is now rarely challenged. Rothstein's theory that she was the third of the Clodia sisters and wife of Lucullus is accepted by Maas. op. cit. (above, Section V), whose view that the Lesbia affair began in 57 would be untenable if Lesbia were the wife of Metellus. This theory is effectively refuted by Marmorale, Ult. Cat. 23, n. 2.13 L. Herrman, "La carrière de Lesbia," Latomus 15 (1956) 308-313, also denies the usual identification and even questions whether Clodia-Lesbia was a sister of the well-known Clodius. He identifies her with the deserted woman in Virg. Ecl. 8 (Daphnis, of course, is Catullus) and with the Lesbia of Hor. Epod. 12.17. She is also the Clodia of Cic. Att. 12.38.4, etc. The Lesbius of c. 79 does not help to establish Lesbia's identity, since the correct reading there, according to Herrmann, is Gellius. To V. Sirago, Catullo poeta della giovinezza 73ff., Lesbia is a hetaera and the passionate love poems are merely figments of the poet's fancy. largely adapted from Greek models.

Lesbia is the subject of two small books, both worthless as scholarly contributions: F. Mainzer, Clodia, Politik und Liebe auf dem Palatin (Brunswick 1954) and P. Venchi, Lesbia di Catullo (Sirmione 1954).

The relations between Catullus and Lesbia are treated by L. Catin, op. cit. (above, Section IV) 30-47, and at greater length by F. della Corte, Due studi catulliani 197-243 14

VII. A. Catullus and Earlier Writers. Greek

A major study dealing with the influence

11. E. Castorina, "Licinio Calvo e i misteri di Io-Iside," GIF 5 (1952) 330ff.

12. L. Catin, op. cit. (above, Section IV) has an interesting discussion of the affair with Juventius (28-29) and a section on "Enemies and Rivals" (47-50).

13. S. Costanza, Risonanze dell'ode di Saffo Fainetai moi Kenos da Pindaro a Catullo (Messina 1950) 6, n. 2, offers a bibliography on this problem. See also Schuster, RE VII A 2357f.

14. A. Giovene, La Lesbia di Catullo (Naples 1955), which I have not seen, is a translation of the Lesbia poems with commentary.

of the Greek poets on Catullus is D. Braga, Catullo e i poeti greci (Messina 1950). While finding many affinities of phrase and theme with Homer, Hesiod, the dramatic poets, Sappho. Pindar, and the Hellenistic writers, Braga argues that Catullus was an independent and original poet. Numerous instances of the influence of Aristophanes. Euripides, and Apollonius are detected by R. Avallone in the following articles: "Catullo e Aristofane," Antiquitas 2.1-2 (1947) 11-49. "Catullo ed Euripide." Antiquitas 2-5 (1947-1950) 112-183, and "Catullo e Apollonio Rodio," Antiquitas 8 (1953) 8-75, but his alleged parallels are exceedingly farfetched and often fantastic. In L'influence grecque sur la poésie latine de Catulle à Ovid. Fondation Hardt II (Geneva 1956), J. Bayet and others argue that great as is the influence of Greek writers. especially the Alexandrians, on Catullus, he uses such materials with spontaneity and freedom (See more on this work below. Section IX.)

The consensus of recent commentators is that Catullus was no servile imitator of the Greeks but was thoroughly versed in Greek poetry, freely used motifs and expressions derived from the Greeks, yet was always an original poet, completely personal and completely Roman in his attitudes and reactions.

Opinions about Catullus' use of Greek sources in specific poems will be dealt with below in connection with the poems themselves.

VII. B. Catullus and Earlier Writers. Roman

Most of the numerous discussions in this category deal with Catullus' relation to the neoterics or poetae novi of his time. I am including only the more substantial treatments of this topic. C. Bione, "Cenacoli di poeti e indirizzi culturali al tempo di Cicerone." MC 11 (1941) 156-175, describes the literary environment in which the Catullan lyric was produced. Bione holds that the neoterics represented no particular school, but only a tendency to break away from the older, traditional forms. Disagreeing, E. Paratore, Catullo poeta doctus (Catania 1942), insists that the new poets formed a literary school with specific tendencies and demonstrates instances in Catullus' poetry of his ties with this school. L. Ferrero, in his Introduzione a Catullo 14, note 18, criticizes Paratore as laying too much stress on poetic schools and their programs but not enough on the circulation of ideas and the poetic milieu of the time. L. Richardson, Jr., Poetical Theory in Republican Rome (New Haven 1944), emphasizes the importance of Valerius Cato among the neoterics and in particular his influence on the composition of the short narrative poems now commonly called epyllia. It may be noted here that W. Allen, "The Epyllion. A Chapter in the History of Literary Criticism," *TAPhA* 71 (1940) 1-20, denies that such a poetic genre as the epyllion existed in antiquity.

The fullest account of the neoterics is to be found in M. Alfonsi, Poetae novi, Storia di un movimento poetico (Como 1945), in which the movement is traced all the way down to Claudian and the part of Catullus therein is evaluated. This poetic movement is also the subject of a book by E. Castorina. I poetae novelli (Florence 1949) and one by V. Sirago, La scuola neoterica. Saggio con edizione dei frammenti (Arona 1947). The latter, which was not accessible to me, is probably none too reliable, since critics charge the author with hazardous hypotheses and attributions (e. g. that the Ciris is by Quintilius Varus) and with reconstructing the content of lost poems despite lack of evidence. There is a good chapter on the poetae novi in A. Rostagni, Storia lett. lat. I2 333-355, and Marmorale devotes a section to them. Ult. Cat. 195-221. The latter holds that the influence of this new movement on Catullus was not so much formal, as is seen from his neglect of metrical perfection, as it was spiritual, in that the interest of the group in Oriental mystery cults especially appealed to him.

The effort to discover precise verbal parallels between Catullus and earlier Latin writers is criticized by H. Bardon, "Catulle et les modèles poétiques de langue latine," Latomus 16 (1957) 614-627. Rightly pointing out that many of the alleged imitations are coincidental and tenuous, he argues that the influence of these writers is seen not so much in direct imitation as in the effect on Catullus' poetic method and the spirit of his poetry. Thus the influence of comedy, notably of Plautus, is revealed in the use of verse for the expression of common, everyday matters, including vulgarities; the influence of Ennius is to be found in certain phrases and images; that of Lucilius in the use of poetry for expressing experiences in the poet's own life, his loves and hates and personal adventures. Thus Catullus' poetry marks the culmination of a long collective effort.

R. Avallone, Catullo e i suoi modelli romani (Salerno 1944), which is concerned chiefly with supposed imitations of Ennius and Plautus, demonstrates the very faults that Bardon criticizes.

The relation of Catullus to Lucretius perhaps deserves a separate category, since some think that Lucretius influenced Catullus, some that it was Catullus that influenced Lucretius, some that neither influenced the other. In his *Ultimo Catullo* 183-189, Marmorale lists a number of Catullan passages in which he detects imitations of Lucretius. These, he points out, are to

be found only in what he regards as the latest poems (cc. 11, 63, 64, 76), a circumstance which ties in with his view that Catullus became interested in religious matters during the last few years of his life. C. Bailey also inclines to the view that Catullus imitated Lucretius, citing parallel passages in Vol. III, pp. 1753-1754 of his edition of Lucretius (Oxford 1947). 15 On the other hand, L. Herrmann asserts with equal positiveness, in "Catulle et Lucrèce," Latomus 15 (1956) 465-480, that not only did Lucretius imitate Catullus (as Munro had believed) but that he also pointedly refuted some of his younger contemporary's views about gods and other supernatural beings. Herrmann derives his Catullan parallels chiefly from cc. 34, 61, 63, 64.

Differing from both views, L. Catin, op. cit. (above, Section IV) 51, emphatically denies any influence of Lucretius on Catullus, since the poem of Lucretius was probably published after Catullus' death; 16 besides, Catullus is "aux antipodes de Lucrèce" and is thoroughly non-didactic. P. Giuffrida, Epicureismo II (Turin 1950) 95-102, is no less emphatic in rejecting all influence of Catullus on Lucretius, whose language, he insists, is thoroughly "lucrezio-epicureo." He regards the occasional similarities as eiffer coincidental or due to Catullus' Epicurean environment.

VIII. Influence on Later Writers

C. W. Mendell, "Vergil's Workmanship," CJ 34 (1938-39) 9-22, deals with the profound influence of Catullus, especially his c. 64, on passages of the Aeneid. The theme is carried further in the same author's "The Influence of the Epyllion on the Aeneid," YClS 12 (1951) 205-226, in which he demonstrates that the structure of c. 64 influenced portions of the Aeneid and that the Culex and the Ciris are Catullan in form. Myra Uhlfelder, "Medea, Ariadne, and Dido," CJ 50 (1954-55) 310-312, deals with the influence of both Euripides and Catullus on Virgil's picture of Dido.

Catullan reminiscences in the *Odes* of Horace are the subject of A. Rutgers van der Loeff, "Quid Horatio cum Catullo?", *Mn* 4 (1936) 109-113, ¹⁷ and P. Gilbert, "Catulle et Horace," *La-*

tomus 1 (1937) 88-93. J. Ferguson, "Catullus and Horace," AJPh 77 (1956) 1-18, offers many parallels, some of which are hardly convincing, to demonstrate that Horace's debt to Catullus was more than he recognized or even realized.

The influence of cc. 5 and 7 on the elegists, notably Propertius and Ovid, is discussed in F. Stoessl, "Die Kussgedichte des Catull und ihre Nachwirkung bei den Elegikern," WS 63 (1948) 102-116. All four kissing poems (5, 7, 48, 99) are given the full treatment by A. Ramminger, Motivgeschichtliche Studien zu Catulls Basiagedichten (Würzburg 1937). Much of this work is devoted to the influence of this group of poems from ancient to modern times.

Passing to the influence of Catullus on writers of the Renaissance and thereafter, one finds two illuminating studies by M. Morrison: "Catullus in the Neo-Latin Poetry of France before 1550," Bibl. H & R 17 (1955) 365-394, and "Ronsard and Catullus," ibid. 18 (1956) 240-274. A most thorough and valuable work on the influence of Catullus in the English literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is J.A.S. McPeek, Catullus in Strange and Distant Britain (Cambridge, Mass. 1939).

To include here one item on Catullus' influence upon art: G.H. Thompson, "The Literary Sources of Titian's Bacchus and Ariadne," CJ 51 (1955-56) 259-264, finds that both Catullus' c. 64 and Ovid's A.A. 1.527-564 influenced this famous painting.

IX. Studies on Meter, Language, and Style

A careful examination of the Catullan elegiacs is presented in W. B. Sedgwick, "Catullus' Elegiacs," Mn. ser. 4, 3 (1950) 64-69. Sedgwick points out that these elegiacs must be viewed in the light of the older tradition going back to Ennius rather than as representing the newer style introduced by Gallus. The supposedly harsh elisions reflect the actual pronunciation of that time. A somewhat similar view is that of D.A. West, "The Meters of Catullus' Elegiacs," CQ 51 (1957) 98-102. This article offers a detailed analysis of caesura and dieresis in Catullus' elegiacs, with the conclusion that Catullus' use of these is by no means careless or uncouth, but rather follows rules essentially similar to those of the Augustan elegists, except that Catullus uses elision more frequently as a "resource deliberately exploited for special effects." T. Cutt's dissertation, Meter and Diction in Catullus' Hendecasyllables (Diss. Chi. 1936), is a useful statistical study of the influence of the hendecasyllabic meter on the poet's choice of words. A more general work, G. B. Pighi, I ritmi e i metri della poesia latina (Brescia 1958), pays

^{15.} For Giuffrida's view on the relation between Lucretius and Catullus, see below, Section X.

^{16.} Herrmann solves the chronological difficulty by assigning the deaths of both Lucretius and Catullus, as well as of Memmius, the former's literary patron and the latter's provincial superior, to the year 47.

^{17.} I have not seen this author's "Het sterven van de rode Bloem," Hermeneus 24 (1952) 41-43, 62-65, which is concerned with the motif of the dying flower in various poets, including Catullus and Virgil.

considerable attention to the Catullan meters. As indicated above, Cazzaniga's edition of the poems has a very useful supplement on metrics and prosody.

Virtually every aspect of the language and style of Catullus has come under scrutiny. Especially valuable is A. Ronconi, Studi catulliani (Bari 1953), which contains four meaty chapters, dealing, respectively, with alliteration, use of diminutives, Grecisms, and irony. The examples are well chosen and the judgments are sane, although the author occasionally finds irony (e. g. in c. 11) where others may fail to see it.18 The same author had touched upon some of these topics earlier in a broadly conceived article, "Lo stile e la lingua di Catullo," A&R 6 (1938) 139-156, in which he demonstrated that both the short lyrics and the longer poems show the same elements, being the product of a mature poetic personality and reflecting not only the milieu of the neoterics but the entire social and artistic environment of the poet.

H. Bardon, L'art de la composition chez Catulle (Paris 1943) is largely devoted to a defense of the originality of Catullus. While admitting his use of Greek models for genres, themes, miscellaneous details, and even for specific poems (e. g. 63), Bardon maintains that Catullus never plagiarizes, that he neither thinks nor feels like a Greek, but is thoroughly Latin, and that his art is conditioned by his own internal life, his own emotions and psychological reactions; or, as Bardon concisely phrases it, "Apollon obéit à Eros."

A substantial consideration of the relation between the style of the longer and shorter poems is A. Salvatore, "Rapporti tra nugae e carmina docta nel canzoniere cartulliano," Latomus 12 (1953) 418-431. Salvatore holds that these types of poems are not to be separated but that all are part of one poet, since the "scholarly" poems reflect the poet's personal feelings no less than do the shorter lyrics, while the latter show many instances of "erudition." 19 He finds revelations of the poet's own experiences and personal emotions in his treatment of Ariadne, Septimius and Acme, Attis, Laodamia, and the wedded pair of c. 61.

Ilsa Schnelle, "Untersuchungen zu Catulls dichterischer Form," Philologus Suppl. 25. 3 (1933), is an oversubtle attempt at analyzing in detail the style of the shorter poems. The writer discusses all sorts of devices of rhythm and sound effect, most of which, one suspects, the poet never intended.

The second volume in the Fondation Hardt

series, Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique (Geneva 1956), opens with a stimulating essay by J. Bayet, "Catulle, la Grèce et Rome" (pp. 3-39, followed by a discussion, pp. 40-55). The author deals with the extent of imitation and originality, conventional and personal characteristics in the poetry of Catullus and with the poet's introduction amid his Greek motifs of intimate elements, of a naturalism and a passionate lyricism which transcended all norms. In many respects Catullus is a precursor of the Augustan Age.

J. Svennung, Catulls Bildersprache (Uppsala 1945), is an exhaustive study of the poet's metaphors and similes, which are classified by types. It is shown that the three portions of the Catullan corpus (polymetra, long poems, epigrams) differ materially in the types of figures employed. Although Catullus derives many of the images for his metaphors and similes from earlier sources, displaying his wide reading, he shows a notable originality and a fine poetic sense in his use of these figures.

P. Gilbert, "Catulle poète de l'intensité," Latomus 3 (1939) 248-249, points out that despite the poet's passionate intensity his art of composition is of the highest and is especially remarkable in the harmonious grouping of words so as to produce the maximum effect of intensity.

The colloquial element in the language of Catullus is the subject of an article by G. Vaccaro, "Introduzione allo studio della lingua dell'uso in Catullo," GIF 4 (19-51) 31-42, and of two dissertations, one by Myrtle Soles, Studies in Colloquial Language in the Poems of Catullus (Diss. Mich. 1954), resumé in Diss. Abstracts 1954, 669-670; the other by H. Strecker, Die volkstümliche Elemente in den kleinen Gedichten des Catull (Diss. Jena 1950.)

Besides the study of Ronconi, cited above, Catullus' use of diminutives is treated in C. Soria, "Introducción al estudio de los diminutivos de Catulo," REC 2 (1946) 159-176. In this article Catullus' use is compared with that of Plautus and of Horace.

Catullus' effective employment of repetitions of words is the subject of a treatise by J. van Gelder, De woordherhalung bij Catullus (The Hague 1933, accompanied by a summary in Engish). This study is praised by Levens as "one of the most enlightening works in the new critical tradition." Assonance and irony are the themes of two articles by N. I. Herescu, neither of which I have seen: "L'assonance dans l'art de Catulle," RCl 13-14 (1941-42) 55-73, and "Autour de l'ironie de Catulle," ibid. 128-137. The latter is unfavorably criticized by Braga, Doxa 3 (1950) 188, as overstrained. Archaisms in the language of Catullus are handled in detail by H. Heusch, Das Archaische in der Sprache Catulls (Bonn 1954). Although somewhat prone to identify colloquial expressions as archaisms and to restore hypothetical forms by emending the text or accepting the emendations of others, the book is most useful for its

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^{18.} These chapters by Ronconi are revisions of articles which had appeared earlier in Studi Urbinati 1939 and 1940; SIFC 1939, A&R 8 (1940) 141-158; AIV 99 (19-6) (below, Section X).

^{19.} Compare J. P. Elder's treatment of this problem 39-40).

apparently complete listing of the archaic forms and expressions.

X. Miscellaneous Studies

The religion of Catullus is the major theme of E. V. Marmorale, L'ultimo Catullo (ed. 2, Naples 1957). In elaborate detail Marmorale presents his thesis that Catullus was initiated into the Dionysiac cult in the year 54 (he extends the life of Catulus to 52), when he underwent a spiritual transformation as a result of his contact with the Oriental mystery religions. His psychological evolution reaches its climax with cc. 76 and 30. The love poems, the invectives, and the humorous pieces are all the work of the primo Catullo, i.e. before his conversion, while the ultimo Catullo is represented in cc. 63 and 64, as well as in various shorter poems. He believes that some of Catullus' fellow poets, among them Calvus, Cinna, Cornificius, and Caecilius, were also converts to mystic cults, as is evidenced by the themes of some of their poems.

A contrary attitude is that of L. Herrmann, "Catulle et les cultes exotiques," NClio 6 (1954) 236-246, in which he takes the position that Catullus was emphatically opposed to all foreign cults and that he used religious themes only for their literary and aesthetic values. M. Renard, "L'é'ément religieux dans les poésies de Catulle," Latomus 5 (1946) 351-357, thinks that Catullus' religious spirit is manifested by his interest in religious phenomena, but that he was not actually a believer in either the traditional Roman religion or any foreign cult.

A significant work on the philosophical environment of Catullus is P. Giuffrida. L' epicureismo nella letteratura latina nel 1 sec. av. Cristo: Vol. II. Lucrezio e Catullo (Turin 1950). The greater portion of the volume (pp. 89-311) is concerned with Catullus. The author's thesis is that Catullus' circle consisted chiefly of followers of the doctrines of Epicurus and that Catullus himself was a dedicated Epicurean. In his view the neoterics were Epicureans, and he mentions specifically Calvus, Hortensius, Alfenus Varus, and Quintilius Varus, Other Epicureans among Catullus' friends were Caelius Rufus (with whom he identifies the Caelius of cc. 58, 100 and the Rufus of cc. 69, 77). Manlius Torquatus (who is the same as the exponent of Epicurean ideas in Cic. Fin. I), and Piso Caesoninus (a friend, since the apparent invectives of cc. 28 and 47 are interpreted as playful). Gluffrida discovers Epicurean elements everywhere, even in such poems as 95, 100, 16, 76, 64. In fact. Catullus was personally acquainted with Philodemus and was profoundly influenced by

Lucretius. Giuffrida's persistent search for Epicurean ideas in the poems has produced many strange interpretations of individual poems and specific passages, as will be noted below in connection with the poems themselves.

F. Stoessl, "Catull als Epigrammatiker," WS 70 (19-57) 290-305, presents a detailed study of a few groups of epigrams in the Lesbia series. The Lesbia group receives special treatment in F.O. Copley, "Emotional Conflict and its Significance in the Lesbia-poems of Catullus," AJPh 70 (1949) 22-40. The poet, according to Copley, is obsessed by a sense of guilt and struggles to find words which will express his feelings. In the Lesbia poems Catullus foreshadows not such erotic poets as Ovid, but the romantic poets of a later era.

R. Avallone, "Catullo poeta della natura," Antiquitas 6·7 (1951-52) 72-95, conveniently assembling all the passages in Catullus which deal with nature, demonstrates the poet's sincere interest in every aspect of nature. The same writer's "Catullo poeta triste," ibid. 37-66, enumerates, with a great deal of rhetoric, the unhappy factors in Catullus' life and environment, his loves, friendships, the political and moral climate, all of which contributed toward making him Rome's first elegiac and romantic poet.

A. d'Errico, "L'epitalamio nella letteratura latina, dal fescennino nuziale al c. 62 di Catullo," AFLN 5 (1955) 73-93, contends that the marriage poems are the product of an indigenous tradition rather than the work of a doctus poeta. J. Ferguson, "The Renunciation Poems of Catullus," G&R 3 (1955-56) 52-58, treats especially cc. 11, 8, 76, and finds in them a delicate and subtle echoing of earlier poems. I. K. Horváth, "Catulle et la tradition populaire italique," A Ant Hung 5 (1957) 169-200, which I have not seen, points out the extent to which Catullus made use of the popular songs, often ribald and obscene, which were part of the tradition of the Italian people.

In Elisabeth Paludan, "The Development of the Latin Elegy," C&M 4 (1941) 204-229, we find a discussion of Catullus as a pioneer in the history of Latin elegy, particularly through his introduction of individualistic, personal elements. Elizabeth H. Haight, in The Symbolism of the House Door in Classical Poetry (New York 1950) gives some notice (pp. 117-122) to Catullus' 32, 63, 67, 68, and 61.

J. P. Elder, "Notes on Some Conscious and Subconscious Elements in Catullus' Poetry," *HSPh* 60 (1951) 101-136, is concerned with the aesthetic unity of Catullus. He is not to be treated as though he were two different poets, writing now spontaneous lyrics, now *docta carmina*. The shorter poems are constructed with the same careful technique as the longer ones. K. Barwick, "Zyklen bei Martial und Catull," *Philologus* 102 (1958) 284-318, devotes pp. 312-318

to a demonstration that five carefully arranged cycles are to be found among the shorter poems:
(1) Lesbia, (2) Aurelius and Furius, (3) Veranius and Fabullus, (4) Mentula, (5) Gellius. Martial imitated this technique of Catullus, who had himself been influenced by his Greek models.

The first portion of F. della Cortz's Due studi catulliani (pp. 5-102), entitled "L'altro Catullo," seeks to establish, on the basis of the variants in c. 62 which appear in the codex Thuaneus (T), that there was an edition of Catullus other than that which has survived through the Veronensis. Calling this the "non-V" tradition, he tries to prove, not too successfully, that it contained a number of poems not found in our collection, and that this plenior Catullus was probably edited by Varro.

Very liftle has appeared in these recent years on Catullus as known to the Renaissance humanists. There are two important chapters in B.L. Ullman's admirable Studies in the Italian Renaissance (Rome 1955): Chap. 5 (pp. 81-115), "Hieremias de Montagnone and his Citations from Catullus," and Chap. 8 (pp. 181-200) "Petrarch's Acquaintance with Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius." M. Zicàri, "Calfurnio editore di Catullo," A&R N. S. 2 (1957) 157-159, discusses the sources of the Venice edition of 1481 by the humanist Giovanni Planza de Ruffinoni, known as Calfurnio. The 1566 edition by Achilles Statius is the subject of a monograph by G. B. Pighi, Achillis Statii Lusitani lectiones atque emendationes Catullianae (Coimbra 1950) = Humanitas 3.37-160.

(To be concluded in Vol. 53, No. 5.)

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS HARRY J. LEON

REVIEWS

AGNES CARR VAUGHAN. The House of the Double Axe: The Palace at Knossos. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1959. Pp. 240; ill. \$5.95.

This book is handsomely adorned with photographs of Cretan things and places, some in color and all well made and printed. The recently published golden double axe of the first color plate and of the jacket (preserve this: the illustration, though from the same negative, is better preserved) is a welcome addition not contemplated in the text. It and the ninteen other plates form a good and typical brief gallery of Minoan sights which should attract and reward the reader.

The text is written with enthusiasm and with the express aim of displaying the life of the Minoan palace.

The houses and palaces of Crete, their decoration, drainage, and furniture are described; then the natives, their diet, dress, work, and games; and finally several chapters are devoted to Minoan deities, their relations, symbols, and cult, as well' as to the matter of funeral practices and beliefs. All this is preceded by a sketch of the discovery and excavation of the palace at Knossos. There are other interpretations of Minoan culture than those the author adopts, but the imaginative reader may draw from these the picture of a possible society corresponding more or less to the society of Knossos as it is now thought to have been. Though the book is not designed to serve as a guide to the scholar or traveller, few of these will really enjoy reading it; the particular confusion of the account of discovery and the many curious and easily avoidable errors of fact which mar the text cannot easily be overlooked. The nebulous layman for whom the book is intended must be confused by a confused account, and cannot in any way avoid an error presented him among facts. For his sake scholarly caution must be disguised; but for his sake alone it must be there.

EMMETT L. BENNETT, JR.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH IN THE HUMANITIES

CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR. Athens in the Age of Pericles. ("The Centers of Civilization Series.") Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959. Pp. xi, 165. \$2.75.

ATHENS IS FITTINGLY the first to be treated in a new series "The Centers of Civilization," which promises to continue in an attractive format and price range with discussion of Alexandria by Bradford Welles and Augustan Rome by Henry Rowell. Prof. Robinson tries "to suggest in general terms based on exact scholarship the meaning of Periclean Athens." He claims that Athens rose to eminence in Greece through a unique combination of events: escape from the Dorian invasion avoided racial strife which in turn made the union of Attica possible and thus afforded an opportunity to experiment, since ability to compromise and opportunity for dissent existed simultaneously. With the rise of Athens is contrasted the decline of Rome brought on by the absence of the opportunity for strife. There follows examination of the Athenian democracy, of art and thought, of everyday life, of the Peloponnesian war and a concluding essay on the fourth century.

In general the theories and interpretations expounded seem to me sound, though sophistry is decidedly underemphasized. The weakness of the book is chiefly a somewhat careless composition. Each chapter has one or more extensive quotations from a Greek author in a standard English translation. This presumably should bring the reader into direct contact with Greek minds and might illustrate the validity of the general ideas set forth. Yet the passages, glorious as they are, do not always fit very well into the discussion. The first chapter, for example, mostly considers opportunity for experimentation. At the end (p. 12) is a sudden transition to the Persian wars and Herodotus' account of the meeting between Solon and Croesus, which is said to illustrate "the underlying issues and nature of the contestants." I question whether it does illustrate that and further whether that is logically the point which needs illustration in this chapter. Similarly Socrates' place in fifth century intellectual history is not best shown by the discussion of immortality in the Symposium nor fifth century private life

(Continued on page 128)

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INEXPENSIVE BOOKS FOR TEACHING THE CLASSICS: ELEVENTH ANNUAL LIST

Ed. Note: The following includes translations of classical texts and "books about" the classics (and closely related fields) suitable for courses in classical literature in translation, classical civilization, etc., or for supplementary reading in regular courses in Latin and Greek. It does not in principle include texts in the original languages, grammars, etc.,

which form the subject of our "Textbooks" list appearing regularly in April. In general we have interpreted "inexpensive" to cover books, paperback and others, up to about \$2.00-\$2.50. Our listing is thus somewhat broader than that in "Paperbound Books in Print" (R. R. Bowker Co., 62 W. 45 St., N.Y. 36), which, though differently arranged, should be consulted for other titles of possible interest, especially for general "literature," "poetry," etc.

Fiction on classical themes, omitted this year, will be included in a special report to appear in an early issue. — E.A.R.

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- C—Cambridge University Press, 32 E. 57 St., N.Y. 22. C-m: Cambridge Manuals Series.
- Cal—University of California Press. Berkeley 4, Cal.
 CC—Classics Club College Editions, D. Van Nostrand Co., 120 Alexander St., Princeton, N.J.
- Chi—University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37.
- Com-Compass Books, Viking Press, 625 Madison Ave., N. Y. 22.
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- MB-Mentor Books, New American Library of World Literature, 501 Madison Ave., N. Y. 22.
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- MW—Men of Wisdom, Harper & Bros., 49 E. 33 St.,
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REVIEWS

(Continued from page 113)

by the first stasimon of the Antigone. A careful reorganization might have retained all the quotations, but in somewhat different contexts.

HAVERFORD COLLEGE

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ANDRÉ BONNARD. Greek Civilization. II: From the Antigone to Socrates. Translated by A. LYTTON SELLS. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.: New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959. Pp. 248; ill. \$6.00.

M. ANDRÉ BONNARD'S Greek Civilization: From the Iliad to the Parthenon (Macmillan, 1957), a most fruitful excursion into early Greek civilization, was very enthusias-tically received, and justly so. On the same level of excellence is this present volume which illuminates the breath-taking panorama of the varied genius of fifth century Greece in a stimulating and forthright style, This work is at once useful and enjoyable to the scholar as well as to those unexposed to the rigors of scholarship.

Although most of the book is concerned with literary figures, no one chapter is devoted to a methodical treatment of a given writer's complete achievement; instead, crucial and arresting problems are brought into focus, often with remarkable originality and perception. Even taking into account the synoptic aspect of the work, one might, however, justifiably criticize the omission of references to Thucydides, Euripides, and the Attic orators, a deficiency which may give the reader a somewhat dis-torted impression of the Greek intellectual experience. To be sure, in the previous volume M. Bonnard does refer to Thucydides, but only incidentally and with regard to his depiction of Pericles. There are provocative chapters on science, art, medicine, politics, and philosophy, and perhaps the most brilliant and useful analyses are to be found in the sections dealing with the political collapse of Athens ("The Declining Day") and with Socrates ("The Enigma of Socrates"). In the chapter on Aristophanes there is a most sensitive treatment of The Birds ("Aristophanes' Laughter").

The translation from the French by Professor A. Lytton Sells of Indiana University is polished and readable and evidently very close to the original, but there are too many gallicisms: e.g., fatalities (p.24 and elsewhere) is obviously a translation of the French fatalités meaning 'calamities, misfortunes,' but this is not in current English usage: péripétie (p. 16 and elsewhere) suggests perhaps that the French form connotes something other than peripeteia, but I have been unable to ascertain any difference in meaning. The transliteration hubris (p. 38) is not correct. There are many misprints which are sure to be corrected in a second edition.

This volume, like its predecessor, is handsomely illustrated by Swiss photogravure plates.

SAN FRANCISCO STATE COLLEGE REYNOLD L. BURROWS

Horace M. Kallen. The Book of Job as a Greek Tragedy. Introduction by George Foote Moore. ("Dragedy. Introduction by George Foote Moore.") mabook," D 19.) New York: Hill and Wang, 1959. Pp. xxvi, 163. \$1.25.

SUSPICION IN the fifth century A.D. that Job was an imitation of a Greek tragedy led to its temporary removal from the Bible as a work of fiction. This controversial view, condemned in the sixth century, is extremely lively today. Archibald MacLeish's J.B. has reawakened the debate with thrilling support for the dramatic thesis.

Kallen's book, published originally in 1918, up-dated only with an author's introduction, argues that Job is the work of a Hebrew poet aware of Euripides tragic form, but un-Greek in his emulation of it; . . that he followed the Greek precedent by framing his heresy in orthodox events and symbols; . . . that the form he gave his tragedy was scrambled from the dramatic to the narrative when lob was added to the canonical scriptures; it was addled in order to fit it into the conventional perspectives of the dominant Judaism of the time" (ca. 400 B.C.).

Kallen discards Platonic dialogue and Aeschylean tragedy as possible influences, and lays stern emphasis on Job's adherence to the Euripidean tragic components: prologue, agon, messenger scene, choral passages, epiphany, and epilogue. A reconstructed version of the book as a tragedy is presented in full (pp. 86-163) with suggestions

for performance.

The author of Job may have had access to Greek tragic performances in the Hellenistic theater of Athens or possibly Naucratis; Kallen firmly believes that Euripides was the likeliest program. But the many similarities between Job and the Aeschylean Prometheus, both subtle and obvious, weaken the exclusive argument in favor of a Euripidean model. And the "trial" of Job seems more Aeschylean (even Sophoclean) than Euripidean. Certainly the action or transaction between Job and Jehovah is cast in the classic mold: a significant being involved with a decisive turn of events enacting his particular response. Kallen needs to enlarge his argument, for classical readers, to show why the Promethean link of parallel is not more authoritative than the Bellerophon image which he advances somewhat desperately.

MCMASTER UNIVERSITY

ALEXANDER G. MCKAY

FRITZ WEHRLI. Die Schule des Aristotelis. Texte und Kommentar. Heft VIII: Eudemos von Rhodos. Heft IX: Phainias von Eresos, Chamaileon, Praxiphanes. Heft X. Hieronymos von Rhodos; Kritolaos und seine Schüler, Rückblick: Der Peripatos in vorchristlicher Zeit. Register. Basel and Stuttgart: Benno Schwabe & Co., 1955, 1957, 1959. Pp. 123, 116, 200. Sw. Fr. 16, 16, 32.

IN 1944 Professor Wehrli published the first part of a series. Die Schule des Aristotelis. These last three fascicles complete his laborious but valuable project. 1 Wehrli has followed the plan adopted in the earlier fascicles, giving fragments, bibliography and commentary, with critical notes that are compiled in the main from standard editions. However, as before, his collections are fuller than those previous editions (for example, Mullach's collection Eudemus), and he has even been able to find one additional fragment of Praxiphanes since Brink's article appeared in the Classical Quarterly of 1946. His commentaries on the several authors display the same erudition that we have come to expect from him. Scholars will find his notes on Eudemus, Praxiphanes, and Critolaus especially useful, even though, as was to be expected, he has no novel theories to offer.

In the tenth part Wehrli has satisfied one of the

The earlier volumes were: I. Dicaearchus (1944); II. Aristoxenus (1945); III. Clearchus (1948); IV. Demetrius of Phalerum (1949); V. Strato of Lampsacus (1950); VI. Lycon (1952); VII. Heraclides Ponticus (1953).

general criticisms that have been raised against the earlier fascicles — the lack of an index. For good measure he has given us an index of names and topics both to the fragments and the commentaries, one on passages cited, a list of titles, and a concordance correlating his arrangement of the fragments with earlier editions. As far as could be ascertained by a quick check the indexes seem complete and accurate.

In surveying the series as a whole we must make certain criticisms. In the Rūckblick in the tenth fascicle Wehrli traces in broad outline the relationship of the various authors to the general Peripatetic tradition. He notes their search for a single philosophical orientation, and observes how the later Peripatetics, thanks to the emancipation of their several disciplines, turned more to the history of literature and culture, until Critolaus reintroduced metaphysical speculation which his immediate predecessors had neglected. Wehrli's observations are true enough, but they are no substitute for a genral appraisal of individual authors. The fascicles on Demetrius, Heracleides, and Clearchus, for example, are good. They would have been even better, had we not to turn to standard works for an estimate of each writer's contribution to the tradition.

Fault may also be found with his critical notes. It is not clear whether Wehrli has examined the manuscripts he cites, or has taken over critical notes from earlier editions. In one passage at least (Ariston 33.13ff.), he departs from the Teubner text of Jensen without any critical notes to explain his deviation. Though Wehrli gives the manuscript authority for variants, nowhere does he explain the sigle used.

One final criticism: in the earlier fascicles especially there is a lack of attention to detail. Misprints are not infrequent, the critical notes are uneven, and his references are not consistent. Since Wehrli has performed such a valuable service in bringing together material from widely scattered sources, it is to be hoped that in a later edition he will correct these slips.

OUEENS UNIVERSITY

S. E. SMETHURST

SIDNEY P. Noe. The Coinage of Caulonia. ("Numismatic Studies," No. 9.) New York: American Numismatic Society, 1958. Pp. 62, 20 plates. \$5.00.

IN THE EXPERT hands of Sidney P. Noe, numismatics appears almost to be an exact science. Noe relies on the substantive understanding that "it was the practise of many of these mints to continue to use the survivor of a pair of dies with the newly cut die which replaced the outworn one." By tracing groups of connected dies, but using other evidence as well, Noe has arranged the coinage of Caulonia in a sequence that is engagingly convincing-beginning at a date difficult to establish with absolute certainty and ending in one of those ante-quem's that spelled tragedy for an ancient city but good fortune for the archaeologist. In this case it was the destruction of Caulonia 389/388. The detailed illustrated catalogue represents, with comprehensive thoroughness, an assembly of types from the principal collections of the world and from the numismatic literature. Noe, who has handled dies in the thousands, will never say die (!). With characteristic modesty, he waits for an upublished variety in the possession of some as yet unknown collector that will "clarify uncertainty in the arrangement." Our guess is that Noe has collected all the significant types.

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they know how to forgive this reviewer's perhaps unscholarly enthusiasm. What results will come, now that we have an illustrated guide to Caulonia's coinage, Noe himself has already suggested. The problem of the indentification of the main figure represented is not yet settled; Noe, in giving the history and bibliography of past inquiries, seems to favor the Apollo-theory. The problem of whether the die-makers originated the coin-type or copied a statue is likewise not yet settled. Noe, examining the details in some of the issues, indicates certain conventions that spell out an early sculptural prototype. As Phyllis Williams Lehmann concluded in her Statues on Coins of Southern Italy and Sicily in the Classical Period (New York 1946), the rule that the die-maker did not copy statues until Hellenistic times, must be very seriously questioned.

What is most appealing about this excellent series of plates (some photographs are enlarged) is that it furnishes, as it were, an illustrated guide to the history of the nude figure in Greek art from the archaic period to the early Fourth Century. In the most graphic terms, the ancient artist set forth for all to see the progress he was making in technique in those crucial hundred years. Also, although there is no numismatic clue to the date of the earliest issues (Noe points out that the date 550 B.C., heretofore accepted, is too early), the art historian is able to supply one. As a matter of fact, Gisela M. A. Richter in her Greek Art (London and New York 1959) establishes it as c. 500 B.C. (p. 245): "The silver staters of Kaulonia and Poseidonia (cf. figs. 255, 356) present a series of striding figures in which the evolution of the profile and three-quarter views in the late archaic epoch can be paralleled to those on the stone reliefs and vases of the time. Particularly significant is the rendering of the

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BLUMA L. TRELL

H. H. SCULLARD. From the Gracchi to Nero. A History of Rome from 133 B.C. to 68 A.D.; ("Praeger Paperbacks," No. 8) New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Publishers, 1959. Pp. xi, 450; 2 maps. \$1.75 (paper) \$6.00 (cloth).

THE AUTHOR OF Roman Politics, 220-150 B.C., 1 has accustomed us to expect excellent and often exciting works from his pen. This expectation is certainly met with the appearance of his latest work, for we now have at hand a first-rate history of this momentous period of two hundred years. Meticulously done, scrupulously accurate (I noted only about a dozen minor typographical slips), up-to-date in bibliography, with numerous references to 1958 publications, and conservative and fair in judgment (alternative views on major problems are normally presented in the notes), this volume is a welcome addition to the supply of available texts. Its scope parallels that of the volumes of the Methuen series, but it is better documented, and does not, in its coverage, duplicate any one of them.

Scullard, as is to be expected, is at his best in matters political; of the sixteen chapters, all but four (two each on the social and economic life and art and literature of the late republic and early principate) deal with these. Much more, of course, could have been included, but

this was clearly not his purpose.

I would venture only two additions to the excellent, though selective, notes, for the benefit of students. To 394, n. 11, add a reference to F. de Visscher, "Alba Fucens: A Roman Colony," Archaeology 12 (1959) 124, with regard to the siege of 90 B.C.: ... it is probable that the city was taken and sacked. Certain archaeological indications are distinctly in favor of this supposition." For consideration of the Tabula Hebana (421, n. 23; 424, nn. 5 and 6), the basic article is still that of J. H. Oliver and R.E.A. Palmer, "Text of the Tabula Hebana," AJP 75 (1954) 225, and for destinatio see also the note by Oliver on 239.

The publisher is to be congratulated for a distinguished beginning of a new paperback series; he has served both the author and reader well, save for the maps, which are too few and too small. Nor is there an endpaper map in the paperback edition.

SWEET BRIAR COLLEGE

HERBERT W. BENARIO

ALFRED DUGGAN. King of Pontus: The Life of Mithradates Eupator. New York: Coward-McCann, 1959. Pp. 208; map. \$3.95.

FOR THOSE WHOSE knowledge of Rome's adversary in the Mithradatic Wars is based on a survey of Roman history and Cicero's oration for the Manilian Law, Mr. Duggan's historical portrait offers something of a revelation. Mithradates Eupator appears as the most serious threat to Rome's eastward expansion, a hybrid Hellenistic-Persian monarch whose energy, personality, administrative ability, and ruthlessness assembled a kaleidoscopic kingdom in Asia Minor and expanded it to the control of the Euxine, the Aegean, and much of the Greek mainland. The reign of Mithradates (120-63 B.C.) spans some of

1. Oxford 1951; rev. CW 45 (1951-52) 231 (M. Hammond).

republican Rome's most momentous years, which modern readers regularly examine through the eyes of Roman statesmen or Greek writers on Roman affairs. Mr. Duggan takes his audience into the heart of Asia Minor and asks that the menace of Rome be observed from a Graeco-Oriental viewpoint. The campaigns of Sulla, Lucullus, and Pompey are discussed because they affect Mithradates' fortunes, and the optimate-popular struggle at Rome and the revolts of Sertorius and Spartacus appear as background to Pontus' foreign policy.

In his descriptions of the Anatolian peninsula and his ability to convey lucidly the continual change of borders, political status, and loyalties, Mr. Duggan is admirable. Here is the basis for those intricate policies involving provincial government and client-kingship by which Rome was to control the East for several centuries. Mr. Duggan's sources seem well in his grasp, and he has done a commendable job in assembling a whole fabric from a confusing and often contradictory body of evidence. There are a few slips: e.g., the envoy "Calidus" on pp. 92-93 is Q. Calidius; Gaius would be preferred to Caius throughout; on pp. 138-40 and 155 Mr. Duggan has confused Lucullus' two brothers-in-law, Appius Claudius Pulcher (who was ambassador to Mithradates) and Publius Clodius (who incited Lucullus' troops to mutiny).

One may quibble with some of Mr. Duggan's generalities and enthusiasms. Had not ultimate success allowed Rome to dominate the literature and thought of subsequent generations, he might well have made his case for Mithradates. As it is, he has given us a stimulating and persuasive portrait of Rome's last great Oriental opponent.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA CHARLES L. BABCOCK

MARION ELIZABETH BLAKE. Roman Construction in Italy from Tiberius through the Flavians. ("Carnegie Institute of Washington Publication," 616.) Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1959. Pp. xvii; 195; 6 plans; 31 plates. \$8.25 (paper); \$9.00 (cloth).

THE EAGERLY AWAITED second volume of Miss Blake's definitive study of Roman construction more than lives up to expectations and puts the student of Roman archaeology deeply in her debt once more. 1

The Introduction reveals the thoroughness of the study behind the material presented in the bulk of the volume; the evidence used for establishing her chronology includes every type of ancient monumental and literary material as well as mediaeval, Renaissance, and modern pictorial record.

Under each emperor appears first a brief general characterization of the construction of his reign; then, grouped by type, every building, both public and private, in Rome and Ostia (plus a selection from elsewhere in Italy, notably the Vesuvius region) is discussed in terms of its construction, with details of material, plan, decoration, topography, reason or purpose, historical connection, etc. Although the emphasis is strong on changes in material and dimensions, notably the variations in all elements of brick-faced concrete, the account is not restricted to methods of building. As Miss Blake says, "To me, a study of construction alone becomes almost meaningless without a consideration of the conditions which brought it forth. . . . In spite of myself I have written

a volume dealing with the history of architecture from the point of view of construction."

A summary presents succinctly the characteristics, innovations, and achievements of each reign of a century in which the chief new developments were the use of triangular facing bricks for a concrete core, with bonding courses of bipedales, and the attendant beginning of vaulting with its influence on plans, notably of baths. Six important plans and 109 excellent photographs are aptly selected to emphasize significant distinctions.

The extensive bibliography, the full documentation of the notes and the five detailed Indexes are themselves invaluable works of reference; with the text they make a volume which will remain fundamental for the study of Roman architecture and topography.

LUCY T. SHOE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY, PRINCETON, N.J.

H. J. Rose. Religion in Greece and Rome, ("Harper Torchbooks," TB 55. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959. Pp. xiv, 312. \$1.60.

THIS HANDY PAPERBACK edition is a reprint in one volume, with a new introduction by the distinguished author, Professor H. J. Rose of St. Andrews, of Ancient Greek Religion (1946) and Ancient Roman Religion (1948), originally published by Hutchinson and Co., Ltd., London, in its University Library series on world religions. It is a most welcome addition to an ever increasing number of paperback volumes on classical studies, and will prove invaluable to both teachers and students of religion in the ancient world and later. The original text and bibliography remain unchanged, and represent the con-

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^{1.} Miss Blake's earlier volume, Ancient Roman Construction in Italy from the Prehistoric Period to Augustus (1947), was reviewed in CW 43 (1949-50) 173f.

sidered view of this master of the subject up to 1948. Scholars may recall that the original purpose of the University Library series was to provide "popular yet scholarly introductions for the benefit of the general reader, but more especially for the unprofessional student who wishes to pursue his chosen subject systematically up to something like a University standard."

The two little volumes were written to be intellible to those who had made no previous study of the topic, and within this range they are unsurpassed. One might wish for a more extended and recent bibliography, one might argue, as has been done, the meaning and usage of numen here, one might ask further why and how Varro, for example, chose to classify the divinities in his discussion on the nature of the gods in the Antiquitates as certi, incerti and selecti (also praecipui), but it would be ungracious to expect this kind of discussion in a volume of the size and purpose indicated. As the book now stands, it will be an undisputed "must" in classes in mythology and religion, as well as a very clear, compact, and lively treatment of the subject for readers in other areas of either religion or antiquity.

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE

ELIZABETH C. EVANS

ELMER G. SUHR. The Ancient Mind and Its Heritage. Vol. I: Exploring the Primitive, Egyptian and Mesopotamian Cultures. New York: Exposition Press, 1959. Pp. 175, \$3.50.

THOUGH PROF. SUHR'S announced intention is both to examine the viewpoint of ancient peoples and to study "what each one added and in what ways each one retarded the advance toward the democratic way of life," he has really fulfilled only the first of his two aims. This

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Also Publications in English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and Russian. is not surprising because in this first volume of a projected two (or more?) volume work he discusses the culture of primitive, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian society in an analysis of which the matter of democracy is really irrelevant. One may expect, therefore, that in a later volume, which will include the Greeks (as well as the Hebrews and Hindus), the very nature of the material will contribute to a fulfillment of the second intention.

Basing himself on some of the latest works of specialists in the field as well as on writers on psychology and anthropology, Prof. Suhr sees the evolution of these early societies in terms of their attempts to reach a state of physical and emotional security in environments of varying difficulty. To this end their institutions were directed, with religion as the most powerful binding and soothing force. All this is, of course, not new and the reader might perhaps do better to read one of the non-technical works on the subject by specialists such as Frankfort (to whom the author refers). However, if one is seeking a useful supplement for an undergraduate course in ancient history, or if an educated layman wishes to brush up on the ancient world, this may prove useful as a starter.

This sort of book, which must perforce compress several millennia into a few pages, tends to present as accepted what the scholar is still disputing, such as Ahknaton's "monotheism"; or make sweeping generalizations, such as that the Mesopotamians had little sense of humor, a judgment which, covering 3000 years and many different peoples and based on little evidence save religious texts, is a little extreme. On the other hand it it to Prof. Suhr's credit that he points out that the Pharaoh was as unfree and tradition-bound as his subjects.

As a non-specialist, Prof. Suhr has prepared what is essentially an interesting and well-read personal reaction to these ancient cultures. One hopes that the later volume which will include the Greeks will enable the author to bring his clear and readable style to bear on a subject in which he is more in command of the primary sources.

QUEENS COLLEGE, FLUSHING, N.Y. SAMUEL LIEBERMAN

IN THE JOURNALS

This column is intended primarily for teachers of Latin in secondary schools. New investigations and evaluations of the lives and works of Caesar, Cicero, and Vergil, and information concerning the Rome of their era, constantly appear in classical periodicals, American and European. Unfortunately, too frequently these valuable studies are unknown or inaccessible to teachers and interested students. CW plans to summarize each month certain articles which seem pertinent to classroom use. Obviously such summaries will present, rather than criticize. Readers are urged, of course, to consult, when possible, the periodicals in which the original articles were published.

MAECENAS

The character of Maecenas, patron of Vergil, Horace, and Propertius, is analyzed by Pierre Boyancé, "Portrait de Mécène," Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé, 4th series, 3 (1959) 332-344. A realist by nature and an equestrian by birth, Maecenas chose to remain in that class, disdaining the fairly hollow trappings of the new imperial nobility. Nevertheless, he played a most important role in shaping the new imperial regime; when others argued for

a return to republican government, Maecenas, realist that he was, and knowing that the past was irretrievable, urged his prince to establish the monarchy. Further, he sought, and with success, to mitigate the harsh, even cruel temper of the young Augustus. Mild, affable, experienced in the ways of the world, he was known for his skill at diplomacy. Equally important to the emperor, his loyalty to the throne was unquestioned.

But while active and influential in public affairs, Maecenas preferred to remain behind the political scene, enjoying a sumptuous gastronomic and intellectual life on his vast estate on the Esquiline. There he entertained, among others, guests named Vergil and Horace. At the same time, his privacy enabled him to forward various amorous alliances. One of the latter, alas, led to the falling out with the emperor which marked the end of the friendship and trust previously characteristic of their relationship. His last years (he died when sixty) were spent in domestic unhappiness and political oblivion.

More important than his fame in politics is the glory reflected on him by his wise patronage of the great Augustan poets. Why did he choose this role? Boyancé calls attention to the recent discovery of an inscription pertaining to a society of cantores graeci, musicians who took part in public ceremonies at games. As was the custom, this group relied on a patron. His name? Maecenas. According to the date of the inscription, this Maecenas was about sixty years older than our famous Augustan man of culture. Since the name itself is quite uncommon, it seems likely that the Maecenas of the inscription was of the family of the later and more famous Maecenas, who, we know, was devoted to music (he sponsored concerts in his gardens) and the theater. Perhaps the inheritance of his ancestral Etruria-always inclined toward the arts, in contrast to the natural Roman bent-found in him a natural heir. He was, himself, a poet, and strongly suported other poets, including Propertius, whose style accorded with his own baroque talent, and Vergil and Horace, whose classicism did not.

Ultimately, it is the capacity of Maecenas for friendship, and his ability to appreciate genius in its early phases, even amid deeply troubled times, which show the true greatness of the man. He befriended Vergil in about 40 B.C., when the latter was about thirty; soon after, Horace, in his late twenties, came under

his patronage. The future, at the time, was still very much in doubt. Furthermore, there can be no question of expedient imperial patronage in those early years, when Maecenas was obviously not an Official Minister of Culture without Portfolio, enlisting artists in a massive propaganda effort. Boyancé suggests that we are misled in thinking that all earlier times are like our own; in so thinking, we lose the secret of Maecenas.

His greatness lies in his respect for genius. Country lad and freedman's son alike received his support, without constraint or dictation. Horace (Satires 1.6) states that Maecenas has made him, in spite of his humble lineas, a convictor, envied by all. Odes 3.14 binds their lives inseparably together. Finally, the will of Maecenas testifies eloquently to the depth of his friendship for the poet. It is not as imperial propagandist that he earns the title of prince of patrons, but for his human warmth and his genuine love of poetry.

Other Recent Articles

E. W. Davis "Hannibal's Roman Campaign of 211 B.C.," The Phoenix 13 (1959) 113-120.

E. Stuart Stavely, "The Political Aims of Ap-

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15 BRATTLE STREET, HARVARD SQUARE CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS pius Claudius Caecus," Historia 8 (1959) 410-433. D. M. Jones, "Cicero as a Translator," University of London Institute of Classical Studies,

Bulletin 6 (1959) 22-33.

Walter Pötscher, "Numen," Gymnasium 66 (1959) 353-374.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY R. D. MURRAY, JR.

CLASSICS MAKES THE NEWS

Scholars attending the fifth general assembly of the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies held in Ann Arbor in September have called for broader meanings for the words "humanistic" and "classics." Recognizing our indebtedness to Graeco-Roman civilization, they recommended fresh attention to oriental classics and philosophy as well as to source material of other than Mediterranean origin in order to broaden concepts for a changing world.

New items in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art include two rare Hellenistic arm bracelets in gold. The ornaments bear figures of a male and female Triton with colling tails that embraced six inches of the wearer's arm.

The Greek Ministry of Education's Archaeoiogical Service has announced substantial progress in excavations at **Dodona**, the site of a sanctuary and oracle believed to be the oldest in Greece. Zeus

was worshipped there in a manner the Greeks are thought to have learned from the Pelasgians, the rustling of leaves in the sacred oak and the direction taken by flying doves being signs of divine intention. The oracle of Dodona approached that of Delphi in ancient times. Croesus sent a messenger to consult it. It is said that Alexander the Great supported the oracle with large contributions. Within a few years Dodona will become one of the tourist attractions in Greece.

Middle Bronze Age settlements have been found in eastern Cyprus by Swedish archaeologists. The Cyprus Museum reports that nearly 300 well-preserved vases were found dumped outside a house that was part of the settlement. A quantity of copper slag, indicative of a local metal industry, was also found. A dwelling unearthed near Kalopsida indicated a settlement extending from the middle to the late Bronze Age, and a layer of ash suggested destruction by fire about 1600 B.C.

A special report to the New York Times — bearing the dateline "Eboracum, Britannia, VIII Septembris" (sic) — declares that forty archaeologists are in search of the famous Ninth Legion of North Britain that completely disappeared more than 1,800 years ago. The archaeologists' conclusions are that after being outflanked, the crack troops of Vespasian either went over to the Britons or put up a poor fight and scattered. These conclusions arose from the successive layers of ancient masonry that have been dated by the composition of the foundations, and from fragments of Romantype pottery that can be attributed to known cult-

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ures. Another point of view is that in 60 A.D. the Roman general Petillius Cerealis decided to switch the pivotal defense point of Britain, Lindum (Lincoln) to Eboracum (York) where he built a small fort of greenwood above the swamps of the present River Ouse, Local tribesmen of the powerful Brigantes made violent and repeated attacks. Petillius received orders from Rome to reinforce his outpost with the best occupation troops in Britain - the Ninth Legion at Lindum. Petillius marched ten cohorts to Eboracum. He built stone walls between massive towers that still can be seen and linked the garrison to signal stations on the east coast. Eboracum apparently was attacked by hordes of Brigantes and the walls were breached. Nothing more was heard of the Ninth Legion after 109 A. D., the date of the inscription on the southeast gate. The legion's name was eventually removed from the imperial army list in Rome, implying disgrace. Local historians believe the Ninth was not annihilated since the names of some of its officers have been found in other legion lists. But promotion, they say, "was slow."

Fourth century B.C. marble bas-reliefs have been unearthed in Callithea, outside Athens. One shows a youth picking apples from a tree and handing them down to a maiden who gathers the fruit in the folds of her skirt. It is believed that reference is intended to the myth of the Island of the Blessed, the apple being the symbol of immortality.

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- 5 Certatur cursu, pugno, discove pilave? Marte suo decet ingenuum certamen inire. Marte tuo supera: victus sed honestus abibis Viribus enisus summis, at nisus honeste. Non sunt ad palmam compendia tramitis ulla.
- 10 Ast male morati florent? Flos vermiculatur! Semper enim rodit sontes mens conscia facti, Ne facinus vulgent affines invidiosum. Ignorent, licet, humani: scit Jupiter Ultor, Cui violata fides curae et periuria verba."
- 15 Haec ubi dicta dedit praeceptor Acanthius ille Omnia qui norat, quare felixque beatusque Et celebris factus - Musarum sede relicta Constitit in templo, coram iudicibus ipsis. Teste Deo iurat, per caeli sidera iurat
- 20 (Non pudor ora subit?), superos testatur inultus: Praematura negat sese responsa tulisse.

NOTES

15. Acanthius. Unknown; cf. Gk. akantha 'thorn'; Gm. Dorn, Du. doorn or doren, etc.

18. templo. So Livy in sense of curia or tribunal. HARRY C. SCHNUR BROOKLYN COLLEGE

One of the largest gatherings in many years attended the annual Autumn Meeting of C.A.A.S., Atlantic City, Nov. 27-28 (program: CW, Oct. 1959, p. 5). Executive Committee action included confirmation of the offer of Association's annual Rome Scholarship, again in the amount of \$400 (see announcement elsewhere in this issue), and announcement of continuing scholarship aid to the C.A.A.S-Western Maryland College Latin Workshop for the summer of 1960, Prospective Workshop applicants should contact Prof. W. R. Ridington, Director, Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md., immediately.

NOTES AND NEWS

The Spring Meeting of the Association will be held at the Sheraton-Park Hotel, Washington, D.C., April 29-30, 1960.

The Winter Meeting of the New York Classical Club will be held at Columbia University, Feb. 6, 1960. The principal speaker will be Prof. Jotham Johnson of New York University.

The University of Michigan announces the offer of several classical and general university fellowships, with stipends ranging from \$850 to \$2300, for graduate study in Greek and Latin, Application forms obtainable from the Dean, Graduate School, Rackham Bldg., Ann Arbor, Mich., must be filed by Feb. 1, 1960.

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